REFERENCE NOTES

Preface

1. Herbert G. Gutman, "The Tompkins Square 'Riot' in New York City on January 31, 1874," *Labor History,* vol. VI, Winter 1965, pp. 63–64; *New York Tribune,* January 13–14, 1877; *New York Sun,* January 13, 1877.

2. *National Labor Tribune,* December 12, 1874, June 26, July 17, 1875.

3. *Workingman's Advocate,* July 1, 1876. *See also* Philip S. Foner, ed., *We, the Other People: Alternative Declarations of Independence by Labor Groups, Farmers, Women's Rights Advocates, Socialists, and Blacks, 1829–1975,* Urbana, Illinois, 1976, pp. 18–19.

4. Tyler Dennett, *John Hay,* New York, 1933, p. 122.

5. Quoted in John S. Bass, *The Harmonists. A Personal History,* Harrisburg, Pa., 1943, pp. 184–86.

6. *Labor Standard,* August 4, 1877.

7. Chicago, 1877, p. 22.

8. *New York Sun,* July 26, 1877.

9. George Rudé, *The Crowd in History: A Study of Popular Disturbances in France and England, 1730–1848,* New York, 1964; E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class,* New York, 1963; Eric Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries,* New York, 1959.

The Great Strike exemplifies the two general theories of violent protest set forth in *The Rebellious Century, 1830–1930,* by Charles, Louise, and Richard Tilly. These are the "Breakdown Theories" (caused by large changes in the economic and social structure of society, like industrialization and urbanization), and the "Solidarity Theories" (the perception by workers of the class lines that divide industrial society).

10. This tendency began with Edward Winslow Martin's *The History of the Great Riots,* published soon after the Great Strike.

11. A good example of this tendency is O.D. Boyle's chapter on the 1877 strike in his *History of Railroad Strikes,* published by the Brotherhood Publishing Company, Washington, D.C., 1932. In discussing the strike

situation in East St. Louis, Boyle does not once mention the general strike in St. Louis just across the river.

12. Norman J. Ware, *The Labor Movement in the United States, 1860–1885,* New York, 1929, p. 45.

13. *See,* for example, Robert V. Bruce, *1877: Year of Violence,* Indianapolis, 1959, pp. 27 and 233–53.

14. Samuel Yellen, *American Labor Struggles,* New York, 1935, Chapter I.

15. Rudé, *op. cit.,* p. 9.

16. *See,* in this connection, Jeremy Brecher, *Strike,* Greenwich, Conn., 1972, Chapter I.

17. Herbert Gutman, "Work, Culture and Society in Industrializing America, 1865–1919," *American Historical Review,* vol. LV, June 1973, pp. 569–71.

Gutman adds: "It had specific purposes and was the product of long-standing grievances that accompanied the transformation of old America into new America." According to Gutman, the chief grievance was resentment against being forced to adjust to an industrial routine, and he sees the labor violence in the Great Strike as flowing in large measure from the "contact and conflict between diverse preindustrial cultures and a changing and increasingly bureaucratized industrial society."

Chapter 1: Prologue

1. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., *Chapters of Erie and Other Essays,* New York, 1886, p. 136.

Much as he detested these two "robber barons," Charles Francis Adams, Jr., hated the railroad workers even more, especially when they exercised their right to organize for a decent livelihood. He even went so far as to draft a law imposing a heavy fine or a year or more in jail for any railroad worker who refused to handle the rolling stock of any road on strike. Even peaceful discussion of strikebreakers on company property would bring a $300 fine or three months in prison. As a member of the three-man Massachusetts Board of Railroad Commissioners, Adams hoped to see his proposed strike law enacted. But it was too bloodthirsty for the Massachusetts legislature, and was never enacted. (Charles Francis Adams, *Charles Francis Adams, 1835–1915, An Autobiography,* Boston, 1916, pp. 170–71; Bruce, *op. cit.,* p. 36.

2. Thomas C. Cochran and William Miller, *Age of Enterprise,* New York, 1942, pp. 131–33; Leland H. Jenks, "Railroads as an Economic Force in American Development," *Journal of Economic History,* vol. IV, May 1944,

pp. 13–18; George Rogers Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution, 1815–1860,* New York, 1951, pp. 102–3; Alfred D. Chandler, ed., *The Railroads, The Nation's First Big Business,* New York, 1965, pp. 8–9; Herman E. Kross, *American Economic Development,* Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1955, pp. 438–40; *Poor's Manual of the Railroads of the United States,* New York, 1877, p. 11.

For the view of the "new economic historians," *see* Robert V. Fogel, *Railroads and American Economic Growth: Essays in Economic History,* Baltimore, 1964.

3. Quoted in Joseph Dorfman, *The Economic Mind in American Civilization,* vol. III, 1865–1918, New York, 1949, p. 23.

4. Eggert, *op. cit.,* pp. 5–6; Clifton K. Yearley, Jr., "The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Strike of 1877," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* vol. LI, April 1956, p. 191.

5. C. Vann Woodward, *Reunion and Reaction: The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction,* Boston, 1951, pp. 204–25.

6. Harry Barnard, *Rutherford B. Hayes and His America,* Indianapolis, 1954, p. 403.

7. *New York Sun,* June 25, 1877.

8. The strike resulted when laborers quit work after a contractor on the third division absconded, leaving them unpaid. It was crushed by the state militia. There is a detailed story on the strike in the *Baltimore Gazette,* July 18, 1877. For an account of a "Railroad Riot" four years later which "originated in a determination on the part of a considerable number of the Dutch laborers (on the Washington and Baltimore Railroad) to obtain higher wages," *see New York Working Man's Advocate,* March 14, 1835.

9. *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine,* vol. I, December 1876, p. 2.

10. George E. McNeill, ed., *The Labor Movement: The Problem of Today,* New York, 1891, pp. 321–32; John B. Commons and Associates, *History of Labor in the United States,* New York, 1918, vol. II, pp. 63–66; George Stephenson, *The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers,* Princeton, N.J., 1964, pp. 23–45.

11. *Journal of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers,* vol. VII, April 1873, p. 162.

12. *Cincinnati Daily Gazette,* July 25, 1877; *Baltimore American,* July 18, 20, 1877; *Cleveland Leader,* July 27, 1877; Bruce, *op. cit.,* pp. 65, 77; Yellen, *op. cit.,* pp. 7–8; Edward Hungerford, *The Story of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad,* New York, 1928, vol. II, p. 134; Edith Abbott, "The

Wages of Unskilled Labor in the United States," *Journal of Political Economy,* vol. XIII, June 1905, p. 363; "Railroad Wages," *Nation,* vol. XXV, August 16, 1877, p. 99. According to the *Nation,* engineers were earning more than $3 a day.

13. *New York Times,* July 22, 25, 1877.

14. *"Resolutions of the Susquehanna Depot, Pa., Strikers,"* printed in *Workingman's Advocate,* March 14, 1874; interviews with unidentified locomotive engineers, *Chicago Tribune,* December 29, 1873, and *Chicago Times,* December 31, 1873.

15. *New York Times,* December 30, 1873.

16. *Workingman's Advocate,* February 21, 1874; Bruce, *op. cit.,* pp. 42–47; Morton J. Horowitz, *The Transformation of American Law, 1780–1860,* Cambridge, Mass., 1977, p. 132.

17. Philip S. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States,* vol. I, New York, 1947, pp. 439–42.

18. V. Poor, *Poor's Manual for Railroads,* for 1877, 1878–79; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* July 14, 1877, p. 30; August 11, 1877, p. 126; August 18, 1877, p. 149; *Harper's Weekly,* vol. XVII, November 1, 1873, p. 963; *Railroad Gazette,* vol. IX, August 10, 1877, p. 365; "Railroad Wages," *Nation,* vol. XXV, August 16, 1877, p. 99; *Baltimore American,* July 18, 20, 1877.

19. "Interview with J.M. McCullough," in *Chicago Times,* December 28, 1873.

20. *New York Times,* November 19, December 29, 1873.

21. The only study of these railroad strikes is the excellent article by Herbert G. Gutman, "Trouble on the Railroads in 1873–1874; Prelude to the 1877 Crisis?" *Labor History,* vol. II, Spring 1961, pp. 215–35.

22. *Ibid.,* pp. 218–23; *New York Times,* December 30, 1873.

23. *New York Times,* December 5, 1873. *See also* Marvin E. Schlegel, *Ruler of the Reading: The Life of Franklin B. Gowen, 1836–1889,* Harrisburg, Pa., 1937, p. 69.

24. Gutman, "Trouble on the Railroads," pp. 225–28; General E.S. Osbourne, Susquehanna Depot, to Gov. J.F. Hartranft, Harrisburg, March 29, 1874, printed in Adjutant General of Pennsylvania, *Annual Report, 1874,* Harrisburg, 1875, p. 20; *Scranton Times,* March 30, 31, 1874; *Scranton Republican,* March 30, 31, 1874.

25. David T. Burbank, *Reign of the Rabble: The St. Louis General Strike of 1877,* New York, 1966, p. 14.

26. *Scranton Republican,* April 2, 1874.

27. Gutman, "Trouble on the Railroads," p. 233.

28. *Montgomery* (Ala.) *Advertiser,* November 22, 1873; *Journal of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers,* vol. VII, December 1875, pp. 579–80, and vol. IX, January 1875, pp. 33–34.

29. *New York Times,* November 9, 1873; *Workingman's Advocate,* December 27, 1873; January 3, 1874; Gutman, "Trouble on the Railroads," p. 234*n.*

30. *Journal of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers,* vol. XI, February 1877, pp. 66–78, June 1877, p. 263.

31. *San Francisco Mail,* December 24, 1877; Foner, *History of the Labor Movement,* vol. I, p. 443; Alan Calmer, *Labor Agitator: The Story of Albert R. Parsons,* New York, 1937, p. 24.

32. J.W.J. in *New Orleans Daily Picayune,* April 15, 1877.

33. *Cigar Makers' Journal,* May 1877, p. 23.

34. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement,* vol. I, pp. 439–41; Commons, *op. cit.,* vol. II, pp. 176–77.

35. The *New York Herald* which cited the Brotherhood's membership added the information: "Candidates for admission to the Brotherhood must be white men, not less than twenty-one years old, able to read and write, of temperate habits, and good moral character, and with at least one year's experience as an engineer." (August 1, 1877. *See also Louisville Courier-Journal,* August 3, 1877.)

36. *Boston Advertiser,* February 13, 14, 1877; *Boston Transcript,* February 13, 14, 1877.

The one bright spot in the otherwise tragic outcome was the support the engineers received from the *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine.* Abandoning its reluctance to deal with anything but insurance and intemperance, the magazine fully supported the engineers' strike, arguing that it was "brought about by the conspiracy refusing to pay the men an honest price for their labor." Those who refused to strike were considered to be "thus violating their obligation to God and man." (*Locomotive Firemen's Magazine,* vol. I, March 1877, p. 106.)

37. *Journal of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers,* vol. XII, April 1877, p. 135; June 1877, pp. 259–61; *Railroad Gazette,* vol. IX, March 23, 1877, p. 135; April 13, 1877, p. 170; Charles Francis Adams, "The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers," *Nation,* vol. XXIV.

38. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement,* vol. I, pp. 455–60.

39. Philadelphia, 1970, p. 265.

Recent studies have exploded the myth that there were actually terror-

ist groups such as the Molly Maguires in the coal fields, and that there is any connection between individual terrorists and coal unionism. (*See* Thomas Barrett, *The Mollies Were Men,* New York, 1969; Charles McCarthy, *The Great Molly Maguire Hoax,* Wyoming, Pa., 1969.) For an earlier expression of this viewpoint, *see* Anthony Bimba, *The Molly Maguires,* New York, 1932, and for a summary of the story of the Molly Maguires episode, *see* Foner, *History of the Labor Movement,* vol. I, pp. 460–64.

40. Schlegel, *op. cit.,* p. 21.

41. *Journal of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers,* vol. XI, April 1877, pp. 161–67; May 1877, pp. 219–20; June 1877, pp. 267–69; July 1877, pp. 310–18; *Report of the Committee Appointed to Investigate the Railroad Riots in July, 1877,* Harrisburg, Pa., 1878, pp. 901–06 (testimony of Franklin B. Gowen). (Hereinafter cited as *Report of the Committee . . . to Investigate . . . Railroad Riots.*) *See also* Schlegel, *op. cit.,* pp. 63, 76, 151, 152, 158–61.

42. Other executions followed within a year, and the legal murders were over on January 14, 1879, when the last two were hanged.

43. In 1874 the presidents of three eastern trunk lines met in Saratoga, New York, and concluded an agreement by which each promised to stop cutting freight and passenger rates between Chicago and the East Coast. But the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad refused to sign the agreement, and a war of rates got under way which continued until the pooling agreement of 1877. (*See* "The Freight Competition of 1874;" "The Freight Competition of 1876," *Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners,* Boston, January 1875, pp. 39–44; *Seventh Annual Report . . . ,* Boston, 1876, pp. 60–71; *Eighth Annual Report . . . ,* Boston, January 1877, pp. 46–55.)

44. *Report of the Committee . . . to Investigate . . . Railroad Riots,* p. 928 (testimony of Thomas A. Scott); "The Pooling Combination of 1877," *Ninth Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners,* Boston, 1878, p. 65.

45. *New York Times,* May 16, 17, 18, 20, 1877; Yearley, *op. cit.,* p. 191.

46. *Pittsburgh Post,* May 15, 1877.

47. *Ibid.,* June 7, 1877; Tom Scott, "The Recent Strikes," *North American Review,* vol. CXXV, September 1877, pp. 352–53.

48. *New York Times,* June 2, 3, 5, 1877; *Irish World and Industrial Liberator,* June 30, 1877; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* quoted in *Appleton's Annual Cyclopedia,* n.s., vol. II, 1877, p. 231.

49. *Report of the Committee . . . to Investigate . . . Railroad Riots,* pp. 671, 673–74; *Chicago Inter-Ocean,* August 2, 1877.

50. *Report of the Committee . . . to Investigate . . . Railroad Riots,* p. 671.

51. *Ibid.,* pp. 681–82.

52. *Ibid.,* pp. 683–84; Bruce, *op. cit.,* p. 61.

53. *Report of the Committee . . . to Investigate . . . Railroad Riots,* pp. 671–72.

54. *Ibid.,* p. 672.

55. *Ibid.,* p. 675.

56. Christopher Hoyt, "The Labor Explosion of 1877: A Study of the Great Railroad Strike of 1877," unpublished Senior Thesis, History, Princeton University, 1960, p. 32.

57. *Report of the Committee . . . to Investigate . . . Railroad Riots,* p. 684.

58. *Baltimore Sun,* July 6, 1877; *Martinsburg Statesman,* July 8, 1877.

Chapter 2: The strike on the Baltimore & Ohio railroad

1. Hungerford, *op. cit.,* vol. I, p. 133; *Baltimore Sun,* July 15–17, 1877; *Baltimore America,* July 14, 18, 1877.

2. *Baltimore Sun,* July 20, 1877.

3. *Ibid.,* July 15, 16, 1877.

4. *Baltimore American,* July 17–18, 1877; *Baltimore Sun,* July 17–18, 1877; Yearley, Jr., *op. cit.,* pp. 193–94. For connections of the Latrobe family with the B & O, *see Dictionary of American Biography,* New York, 1957, vol. XI, pp. 20–21.

5. *Baltimore American,* July 18, 1877; *Baltimore Sun,* July 18, 1877.

6. *Report of the Committee . . . to Investigate . . . Railroad Riots,* pp. 683–84.

7. *Martinsburg Statesman,* July 17, 24, 1877.

8. *Wheeling Intelligencer,* July 17–18, 1877.

9. *Ibid.,* July 18, 1877.

10. *Baltimore American,* July 17, 1877; *Baltimore Sun,* July 17, 18, 1877; *Biennial Message of Governor M. Mathews with accompanying documents to the Legislature of West Virginia,* Wheeling, 1879, pp. 1–2. Hereinafter cited as Mathews, *Documents.*

11. *Martinsburg Statesman,* July 31, 1877.

12. *Ibid.,* July 24, 1877; Mathews, *Documents,* p. 3.

13. Mathews, *Documents,* p. 4; Gerald G. Eggert, *Railroad Labor Disputes: The Beginnings of Federal Strike Policy,* Ann Arbor, 1967, p. 26.

14. *Ibid.,* pp. 3–4; Bruce, *op. cit.,* pp. 80–82.

15. *Baltimore Gazette,* reprinted in *Scranton Republican,* July 29, 1877; *Labor Standard,* August 14, 1877.

16. *Wheeling Intelligencer,* July 20, 1877.

17. *Ibid.,* July 21, 1877.

18. *Baltimore Sun,* July 22, 1877.

19. *Ibid.,* July 19, 1877.

20. *Ibid.;* Mathews, *Documents,* p. 4.

21. Eggert, *op. cit.,* p. 26.

22. Copies of Correspondence, Reports, Orders, Etc., relating to . . . Labor Disturbances, . . . 1877, file #4042, Adjutant General's Office, Early Wars Branch, Record Group 94, National Archives. Hereinafter cited as AGO Strike Papers. *See also* Eggert, *op. cit.,* p. 27.

23. *New York World,* July 23, 1877.

24. *Wheeling Register,* July 21, 1877; Bruce, *op. cit.,* p. 85; AGO Strike Papers.

25. *See* Richard B. Morris, "Andrew Jackson, Strikebreaker," *American Historical Review,* vol. LV, October 1949, pp. 54–68; Foner, *History of the Labor Movement,* vol. I, pp. 328–29.

26. *Labor Standard,* July 28, 1877.

27. Eggert, *op. cit.,* pp. 27–28; Charles L. Barrows, *William M. Evarts, Lawyer, Diplomat, Statesman,* Chapel Hill, N. Car., 1941, pp. 184–88, 258; Van Woodward, *op. cit.,* p. 190; Shelby M. Cullom, *Fifty Years of Public Service,* Chicago, 1911, p. 325.

Upon leaving public service, McCrary immediately became a leading corporation lawyer and member of a firm which served the Atcheson, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad. (*Dictionary of American Biography,* vol. XII, p. 3.)

28. *See Baltimore Sun, New York Tribune,* July 17, 1877.

29. Eggert, *op. cit.,* p. 38; Charles R. Williams, ed., *Diary and Letters of Rutherford B. Hayes,* Columbus, Ohio, 1922–26, vol. III, pp. 314–19; Rutherford B. Hayes to James A. Garfield, May 17, 1876; Marcus A. Hanna to Rutherford B. Hayes, June 16, 1876, Rutherford B. Hayes Papers, Rutherford B. Hayes Library, Fremont, Ohio. Hereinafter cited as Hayes Papers.

30. Bruce, *op. cit.,* pp. 87–89; James A. Garfield, "The Army of the United States," *North American Review,* vol. CXXVI, April 1878, pp. 195–96.

31. Adjutant General's Office, Letters Received, 1877 #4064, National Archives (hereinafter cited as AGO, L'ttrs Rec'd); *Baltimore Sun,* July 19, 1877; Joseph A. Dacus, *Annals of the Great Strikes,* St. Louis, 1877, pp. 39–41; Charles Phillips Anson, "History of the Labor Movement in West Virginia," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of North Carolina, 1940, p. 193*n;* Bruce, *op. cit.,* p. 93; Eggert, *op. cit.,* p. 30.

32. *New York Sun,* July 20, 1877; *Wheeling Register,* July 20, 21, 1877.

33. *New York Sun,* July 20, 1877.

34. *Ibid.; Wheeling Register,* July 20, 1877.

35. *New York Sun,* July 20, 1877; *Wheeling Register,* July 20, 21, 1877.

36. *Baltimore Sun,* July 20, 1877.

37. *Wheeling Register,* July 21, 1877; *New York Herald,* July 20, 1877.

38. *Reading Daily Eagle,* July 21, 1877. The document was reprinted in *The Alarm,* the anarchist weekly published in Chicago by Albert R. Parsons in the 1880s, "to refresh our readers with the stirring events of those stormy days." (June 27, 1885.)

39. *Baltimore Sun,* July 21, 1877; Hungerford, *op. cit.,* vol. I, p. 328.

40. *Baltimore Sun,* July 18, 20, 1877; *Baltimore American,* July 19, 20, 1877; *Baltimore Evening Bulletin,* July 18, 19, 20, 1877.

41. *Philadelphia Inquirer,* July 23, 1877.

42. *Baltimore Sun,* July 16, 1877; *Baltimore American,* July 17, 18, 20, 1877; *Baltimore News,* July 20, 1877; Bruce, *op. cit.,* pp. 100, 214.

43. The description of the events of Friday, July 20, 1877, are based on reports in the *Baltimore Sun, Baltimore American, Baltimore News,* July 21, 22, 1877, and the hearings of the coroner's jury in Baltimore, *Baltimore Sun,* July 31–August 4, 1877.

44. *Baltimore Sun,* July 21, 1877; *Baltimore News,* July 21, 1877; *Baltimore American,* July 21, 1877.

45. *Baltimore Sun,* July 22, 1877.

46. *Baltimore American,* July 23, 1877.

47. *See Baltimore Sun,* July 22, 1877; *Baltimore American,* July 23, 1877.

48. *Baltimore Sun,* July 22, 1877; *Baltimore American,* July 22, 1877.

49. *Baltimore Sun,* July 27, 1877; Yearley, *op. cit.,* p. 203.

50. *Baltimore Sun,* July 27, 1877.

Evidently the strikers had been under the impression that the governor asked to see their committee, but Carroll denied this.

51. *Baltimore Sun,* July 28, 1877.

52. *Ibid.*

53. French asked to be relieved of his command after the Baltimore & Ohio's Master of Transportation called him "a drunkard and a lout." "If I cannot act independent of them [B & O officials]," he wrote to Secretary of War McCrary asking to be relieved, "it would be preferable to have another officer who would be less objectionable to that corporation."

54. *Report of the Committee . . . to Investigate . . . Railroad Riots,* p. 769.

55. Christopher Hoyt, "The Labor Explosion of 1877: A Study of the

Great Strike of 1877," Senior Thesis, History, Princeton University, 1960, p. 35.

56. *Report of the Committee . . . to Investigate . . . Railroad Riots,* p. 789.

Chapter 3: The strike on the Pennsylvania and Philadelphia & Reading railroads

1. *Report of the Committee . . . to Investigate . . . Railroad Riots,* pp. 63, 273, 274, 558, 674, 818.

2. William B. Sipes, *The Pennsylvania Railroad, Its Origins, Construction, and Connections,* Philadelphia, 1875, p. 255.

3. *Pittsburgh Post,* July 20, 1877; *Report of the Committee . . . to Investigate . . . Railroad Riots,* p. 63.

4. *Report of the Committee . . . to Investigate . . . Railroad Riots,* pp. 59–60, 674.

5. *Ibid.,* pp. 140, 444–46; *Pittsburgh Post,* July 20, 1877.

6. *Pittsburgh Post,* July 20, 1877; *Report of the Committee . . . to Investigate . . . Railroad Riots,* pp. 76, 143, 389.

7. *Report of the Committee . . . to Investigate . . . Railroad Riots,* pp. 60, 79, 176, 374.

8. *Pittsburgh Post,* July 20, 1877.

9. *Ibid.,* July 21, 1877; *Report of the Committee . . . to Investigate . . . Railroad Riots,* pp. 77, 78, 139, 144.

10. *Pittsburgh Critic,* reprinted in *Report of the Committee . . . to Investigate . . . Railroad Riots,* pp. 817–18, and p. 18 for the comment of committee.

11. *Report of the Committee . . . to Investigate . . . Railroad Riots,* pp. 52, 174–76, 184–85, 594; *Pittsburgh Post,* July 21, 22, 1877; *Pittsburgh Dispatch,* July 21, 22, 1877.

12. *Report of the Committee . . . to Investigate . . . Railroad Riots,* pp. 7–8, 19–20, 698; *Pittsburgh Post,* July 21, 1877.

13. *New York Times,* July 22, 1877.

14. *Pittsburgh Critic,* reprinted in *Report of the Committee . . . to Investigate . . . Railroad Riots,* p. 818.

15. Joseph S. Clark, Jr., "The Railroad Struggle for Pittsburgh," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* vol. XLVIII, April 1924; pp. 1–27.

16. *Army Journal,* August 4, 1877. *See also New York Times,* July 22, 1877.

17. *Report of the Committee . . . to Investigate . . . Railroad Riots,* p. 10.

18. *Pittsburgh Post,* July 22, 23, 1877.

19. *Pittsburgh Post,* July 22, 1877; *Report of the Committee . . . to Investigate . . . Railroad Riots,* pp. 788–820; *National Labor Tribune,* July 28, 1877.

20. *Irish World and Industrial Liberator,* December 1, 1877.

21. Reprinted in *Report of the Committee . . . to Investigate . . . Railroad Riots,* p. 806.

22. *Pittsburgh Post,* July 22, 23, 1877; *Pittsburgh Dispatch,* July 22, 23, 1877.

23. *Report of the Committee . . . to Investigate . . . Railroad Riots,* p. 93.

24. James A. Henderson, "The Railroad Riots in Pittsburgh: Saturday and Sunday, April 21st and 22nd, 1877," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine,* vol. XL, July 1928, pp. 195–96. *See also Report of the Committee . . . to Investigate . . . Railroad Riots,* pp. 253–54, 326–27, 882–90.

25. *Report of the Committee . . . to Investigate . . . Railroad Riots,* pp. 15, 68, 69, 252–53, 326, 976–78.

The *National Labor Tribune* insisted that grocers, farmers, and businessmen also hauled away goods from the freight cars, and condemned the practice of blaming such conduct only "upon the poor." The labor weekly went so far as to assert that "in nine cases out of ten, though starving, [the poor] would scorn to eat stolen meat and bread." (July 28, 1877.)

26. *Pittsburgh Post,* July 23, 1877; *New York Herald,* July 23, 1877.

27. George H. Burgess and Miles C. Kennedy, *Centennial History of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company: 1846–1946,* Philadelphia, 1949, pp. 370–73; *Report of the Committee . . . to Investigate . . . Railroad Riots,* pp. 254–55; Henderson, *op. cit.,* p. 196.

On July 28, 1877, the *Cleveland Leader* figured out that just paying the interest on this debt would cost every man, woman, and child in Pittsburgh $32.15 apiece in taxes. The article was entitled, "The Cost of a Mistake."

28. *Pittsburgh Post,* July 23, 1877; *Philadelphia Times,* July 24, 1877; *Report of the Committee . . . to Investigate . . . Railroad Riots,* pp. 978–82.

29. *Missouri Republican,* July 23, 1877; *Washington National Republican,* July 24, 1877; *Chicago Inter-Ocean,* July 23, 1877; *New York Times,* July 23, 1877.

30. *Pittsburgh Post,* July 24, 25, 1877; *New York Sun,* July 24, 1877; *Report of the Committee . . . to Investigate . . . Railroad Riots,* pp. 493–94.

31. *Pittsburgh Post,* July 24, 25, 1877; *National Labor Tribune,* July 28, 1877.

32. *Pittsburgh Post,* July 26, 1877; *Report of the Committee . . . to Inves-*

tigate . . . Railroad Riots, p. 515.

33. *Report of the Committee . . . to Investigate . . . Railroad Riots,* p. 689.

34. *Ibid.,* pp. 21–22, 461–68, 661–90, 791–98.

The committee concluded that Ammon's "extraordinary performance" was really "nothing wonderful." A mob or crowd was always willing to follow anyone who had nerve, and "Ammon had the nerve." The mob always wanted a dictator, and in Ammon, "they had one." Finally, the great railroads of the country were so organized, and the trains run on such a regular system, connected by the telegraph, "that the trains can be run for days without a break if the superintendent should abandon the road entirely." Ammon was thus able to be "a king so long as he led in the direction the crowd wished to go." But when they saw he ran "counter to their opinions, he was dethroned with as little ceremony or compunction as one school boy shows in knocking off the hat of another." (*Ibid.,* pp. 22–23.)

35. *Pittsburgh Post,* July 25, 26, 1877; *Pittsburgh Times,* July 25–26, 1877.

36. Philip English Mackey, "Law and Order, 1877: Philadelphia's Response to the Railroad Riots," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* vol. XCVI, April 1972, p. 189; *Philadelphia Record,* July 23, 1877; *Philadelphia Times,* July 27, 1877; *Altoona Mirror,* July 24–27, 1877; George B. Stitcher, "The Schuylkill County Soldiery in the Industrial Disturbances in 1877, or the Railroad Riot War," *Publications of the Historical Society of Schuylkill County,* vol. I, 1907, pp. 193–215; *Harrisburg Independent,* July 24, 1877.

37. Bruce, *op. cit.,* pp. 155–56; *Harrisburg Independent,* July 24, 1877.

38. Telegram (July 24, 1877), Hayes Papers.

39. *Reading Daily Eagle,* July 23, 1877, reprinted in Ronald L. Filippeli, "The Railroad Strike of 1877 in Reading," *Historical Review of Berks County,* vol. XXXVII, Spring 1972, p. 51. Filippeli's article is the most detailed treatment of the strike in Reading.

40. *Ibid.,* July 23, 1877.

41. *Ibid.,* July 23–24, 1877.

42. *Ibid.,* July 24, 1877; *Report of the Committee . . . to Investigate . . . Railroad Riots,* pp. 486–92.

43. *Reading Daily Eagle,* July 26, 1877.

44. *Ibid.,* July 29, 1877.

45. *Ibid.,* July 27–29, 1877.

46. Telegram (July 22, 1877), Hayes Papers.

47. Telegrams (July 23–25, 1877), Hayes Papers.

48. *Pittsburgh Post,* July 30, 1877.

49. Hancock to Secretary of War, July 30, 1877, AGO, L'ttrs Rec'd., #4304.

50. *Scranton Republican,* July 26–30, 1877.

51. *Ibid.,* July 29, 1877.

52. *Report of the Committee . . . to Investigate . . . Railroad Riots,* pp. 162–63.

53. *Ibid.,* pp. 155–60, 709, 735, 755–58; Hartranft to McCrary, AGO #4042, NA.

54. Jean Marvin Cooper, "The Army and Civil Disorder: Federal Military Intervention in American Labor Disputes, 1877–1900," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1971, p. 122.

55. Hancock to Major John Hamilton, Aug. 8, 1877, L'ttrs Rec'd., 1877, Allegheny Arsenal, Pittsburgh, Pa., RG 393, NA, marked *Confidential.*

56. Cooper, *op. cit.,* pp. 122–23.

57. *Scranton Republican,* October 22, 1877.

Chapter 4: The strike on the Erie and New York Central railroads

1. *See* Edward H. Mott, *Between the Ocean and the Lakes, A Story of the Erie,* New York, 1901, pp. 123–201; Charles Francis Adams, *op. cit.,* pp. 1–192.

2. Ray V. Brown, "The Erie Railroad Strike of 1877 in Hornellsville, New York," unpublished Senior Thesis, History, Princeton University, 1951, pp. 32–34.

3. A complete account of this meeting was published in the *Hornell Times,* July 4, 1877.

4. Brown, *op. cit.,* pp. 37–39.

5. *Utica Observer,* June 29, 1877.

6. *Hornell Times,* July 4, 1877.

7. Brown, *op. cit.,* pp. 38–40.

8. *Hornell Times,* July 4, 1877.

9. *Ibid.,* July 21, 1877. The description of the shacks is by a former Erie worker who was interviewed by Ray V. Brown (*op. cit.,* p. 50).

10. *Hornell Times,* July 21, 1877.

11. *Elmira Daily Advertiser,* July 21, 1877; *Hornellsville Tribune,* July 23, 1877.

12. *New York Times,* July 23, 1877.

13. The list is compiled in Yellen, *op. cit.,* pp. 21–22.

14. *New York Times,* July 27, 1877.

15. McCabe, *op. cit.*, p. 235; *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser,* July 23, 24, 25, 1877.

16. *Hornell Times,* July 25, 1877.

17. The account is based on *Elmira Daily Advertiser,* July 23, 1877; *Hornell Times,* July 25, 1877; Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 58–62.

18. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

19. *New York Times,* July 23, 1877.

20. *Elmira Daily Advertiser,* July 23, 1877.

21. *Ibid.*

22. A full account of this trip may be found in the *New York Tribune,* July 24, 1877.

23. *Elmira Daily Advertiser,* July 24, 1877.

24. Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 68–69.

25. *Hornell Times,* July 25, 1877.

26. *New York Times,* July 24, 1877; *Hornell Times,* July 25, 1877.

27. *New York Sun,* July 24, 1877.

28. "A Letter from the Boss Striker," *Hornell Times,* August 4, 1877.

29. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

30. Reports of the meetings of the night of July 25 and of the settlement may be found in the *New York Tribune,* July 26, 1877, *Hornell Times,* July 28, 1877, and Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 75–81.

31. *Elmira Daily Advertiser,* July 27, 1877.

32. *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser,* July 21, 22, 23, 1877.

33. *Ibid.*, July 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 1877; *New York Times,* July 25, 1877; *New York World,* July 25, 30, 1877.

34. *New York Times,* July 23, 24, 1877; *Albany Journal,* July 22, 23, 24, 1877; W.A. Croffut, *The Vanderbilts,* Chicago, 1886, p. 305.

35. *New York Times,* July 24, 1877; *Albany Journal,* July 23, 24, 1877.

36. *New York Times,* July 25, 1877.

37. *Ibid.*

38. *Ibid.*, July 28, 1877.

39. *Albany Journal,* July 23, 24, 25, 26, 1877.

40. *Ibid.*, July 25, 26, 1877.

41. *Albany Journal,* July 27, 1877; *New York Times,* July 27, 1877.

42. *Albany Journal,* July 28, 1877.

43. *Ibid.*, July 29, 1877; *New York Times,* July 29, 1877.

44. *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser,* July 29, 30, 31, 1877.

The strikers on the Lake Shore at Buffalo returned to work the following day. (*Buffalo Commercial Advertiser,* July 31, August 1, 1877.)

45. Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 251.
46. *Ibid.*

Chapter 5: The strike on the Vandalia of Terre Haute: The fruits of class harmony

1. For a discussion of cross-class cooperation in early labor struggles, *see* Herbert Gutman, "The Worker's Search for Power," in H. Wayne Morgan, ed., *The Gilded Age: A Reappraisal,* Syracuse, N.Y., 1968, pp. 138–68.
2. *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine,* vol. I, July 1877, p. 238.
3. *Terre Haute Express,* July 23, 1877.
4. *Ibid.,* July 25, 1877; Edward Winslow Martin, *The History of the Great Riots,* Philadelphia, 1877, p. 365.
5. *Terre Haute Express,* July 25, 1877.

The only treatment in detail of the strike in Terre Haute is Nicholas Salvatore, "The Small Town Strike: Terre Haute, Indiana," unpublished paper delivered at 1976 Annual Meeting, American Historical Association, Washington, D.C., December 28, 1976. The paper is part of a full-length biography of Eugene V. Debs being prepared by Mr. Salvatore, sections of which, including the one dealing with the strike in Terre Haute, I have had the opportunity to study. The unpublished manuscript is in the possession of the author.

6. *Terre Haute Express,* July 25–26, 1877.
7. *Ibid.,* July 26, 1877.
8. *Ibid.,* July 27, 1877.
9. *Ibid.,* July 28, 1877.
10. Clinton J. Phillips, *Indiana in Transition: The Emergence of an Industrial Commonwealth, 1880–1920,* Indianapolis, 1968, p. 231; George Irving Reed, *Encyclopedia of Biography of Indiana,* Chicago, 1895, vol. I, p. 80; Salvatore, "The Small Town Strike," in his unpublished work on Eugene V. Debs.
11. *Terre Haute Express,* July 27, 28, 1877.
12. *Chicago Tribune,* July 24, 25, 1877; *Indianapolis Sentinel,* July 25, 26, 27, August 1, 1877.
13. *Indianapolis Sentinel,* July 22, 23, 1877; Matilda Gresham, *The Life of Walter Quintin Gresham,* Chicago, 1919, vol. I, p. 382.
14. *Indianapolis Sentinel,* July 24, 1877.
15. Gresham, *op. cit.,* vol. I, p. 384.
16. *Ibid.,* p. 390; *Indianapolis Sentinel,* July 25, 1877.
17. Bruce, *op. cit.,* p. 289.

18. Gresham, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 193; *Indianapolis Sentinel,* July 26, 27, 1877.

19. Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

20. *Indianapolis Sentinel,* July 28, 1877; Gresham, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 398–99.

21. *Terre Haute Express,* July 29, 1899; Gresham, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 398–99.

22. Gresham, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 399.

23. *Terre Haute Express,* July 30, 31, 1877.

24. Richard W. Thompson to Colonel Thomas A. Scott, August 5, 1877, quoted in Salvatore, "The Small Town Strike," in his unpublished work on Eugene V. Debs.

25. Gresham, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 490; *Terre Haute Express,* July 30, 31, 1877.

26. Members of the Vico Lodge signed a petition supporting Mark Miller and William Sayer in their court cases. One of the signers was Eugene V. Debs, and Nicholas Salvatore points out that this seems to have been his only public action during the strike. ("The Small Town Strike," in unpublished work on Eugene V. Debs.)

Chapter 6: The Workingmen's Party of the United States

1. For a general discussion of the Communist issue during the Great Strike, *see* Gerald Grob, "The Railroad Strike of 1877," *Midwest Journal,* vol. VI, Winter 1954–55, pp. 16–34. For the Communist issue during the railroad strikes of 1873–74, *see* Gutman, "Trouble on the Railroads," p. 227.

2. *Pittsburgh Critic* reprinted in *Report of the Committee . . . to Investigate . . . Railroad Riots,* p. 819.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Missouri Republican,* July 19, 1877. *See also* Burbank, *Reign of the Rabble,* pp. 13–14.

5. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle,* July 23, 1877.

6. *National Labor Tribune,* July 28, 1877; *Workingman's Advocate,* August 1, 1877; *Labor Standard,* August 4, 1877.

7. "The Commune in the United States," *New York Tribune,* July 25, 1877. *See also* "The American Commune," Washington *National Republican,* July 21, 1877.

8. *Pittsburgh Leader,* July 20, 1877, reprinted in *Report of the Committee . . . to Investigate . . . Railroad Riots,* pp. 798–80.

9. *Chicago Inter-Ocean,* July 25, 1877; *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* July 28, 1877.

10. Allan Pinkerton, *Strikers, Communists, Tramps and Detectives,* New York, 1878, p. 88.

11. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* July 28, 1877.

12. Pinkerton, *op. cit.,* p. 79.

Unfortunately the correspondence in the Allan Pinkerton Papers in the Library of Congress skips from June to November 1877 so that it is impossible to determine the nature of the reports from the Pinkerton Agents. *See* Papers of the Pinkerton National Detective Agency, Library of Congress, Manuscripts Division.

13. Dacus, *op. cit.,* p. 76.

14. New York, 1937, pp. 15–19. *See also* Philip A. Slaner, "The Railroad Strikes of 1877," *Marxist Quarterly,* vol. I, April–June 1937, p. 214.

15. For the full story of the American sections of the International, *see* Samuel Bernstein, *The First International in America,* New York, 1965.

16. *Ibid.,* pp. 109–26, 161–78.

17. For Marx's correspondence with Americans, *see* Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–1895,* New York, 1958.

18. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement,* vol. I, pp. 448–50; Marx to F. Bolte, November 23, 1871, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Letters to Americans,* pp. 93–94.

19. *Vorbote,* June 5, 1874.

20. *Arbeiter-Zeitung,* May 6, 1874; Foner, *History of the Labor Movement,* vol. I, p. 452.

21. *Vorbote,* June 20, 27, 1874.

22. John R. Commons, ed., *A Documentary History of the American Industrial Society,* vol. IX, Cleveland, 1910, pp. 376–78.

23. Commons and Associates, *op. cit.,* vol. II, p. 233; *Socialist,* May 6, 1876.

24. Bernstein, *op. cit.,* p. 274.

25. The English text of the Declaration appeared in the *Socialist,* May 6, 1876, and the German text was published in *Social-Demokrat,* April 30, 1876, and *Vorbote,* April 29, 1876.

26. Bernstein, *op. cit.,* p. 282; Morris Hillquit, *History of Socialism in the United States,* New York, 1903, p. 206.

27. G. Lukert in *Vorbote,* July 8, 1876.

28. However, the first Black socialist in the United States, Peter H. Clark of Cincinnati, became a member of the Workingmen's Party of the United States. (*See below,* pp. 223–24, 258 note 41.)

29. The proceedings of the Unity Congress may be found in Philip S. Foner, ed., *The Formation of the Workingmen's Party of the United States: Proceedings of the Union Congress Held at Philadelphia, July 19–26, 1876,* Occasional Paper No. 18, American Institute for Marxist Studies, New York, 1976.

30. *Labor Standard,* August 12 and 29, 1876.

31. Friedrich A. Sorge, *Socialism and the Worker,* New York, 1876, pp. 12–13, 19–20.

32. *Labor Standard,* October 28, 1876.

33. *Ibid.,* September 30, December 30, 1876; Bernstein, *op. cit.,* pp. 290–91; *Arbeiter-Stimme,* June 17, 1877.

34. *Labor Standard,* January 27, 1877.

35. Friedrich A. Sorge, "Die Arbeiterbewegung in den Vereinigten Staaten," *Neue Zeit* (Berlin), 1 Band (1891–1892), p. 398.

36. Bruce, *op. cit.,* pp. 228–30.

37. *Socialist,* August 26, 1876; Burbank, *op. cit.,* p. 74.

Barney Donahue, leader of the Erie strikers at Hornellsville, New York, was charged with being a member of the party, but there is no evidence supporting this.

38. Gabriel Kolko's comments in his work *Main Currents in Modern American History* that ". . . to those in power it (the Great Strike) was a clear harbinger of the arrival of the Marxist First International which was wholly inconsequential before, during and after the strike. . . ." (New York, 1976, p. 174.) This statement is wrong on two counts. First, the International had disbanded a year before, and second, as will be spelled out in the following chapters, the Workingmen's Party of the United States (the organization involved) was anything but "inconsequential" during the strike.

Chapter 7: The WPUS and the Great Strike, I: New York City, Louisville, and Cincinnati

1. *Chicago Tribune,* July 23, 1877.

2. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* July 23, 1877.

3. Howard H. Quint, *The Forging of American Socialism,* Columbia, S. Car., 1953, pp. 3, 13–14.

4. *Labor Standard,* July 28, August 4, 1877.

Joseph A. Dacus cites two meetings of the Workingmen's Party in Baltimore during the Great Strike, one by the German section and another by a section of Bohemians and Poles. (*Op. cit.,* pp. 65–66.) But neither the Baltimore press nor the *Labor Standard* mention them.

5. *San Francisco Chronicle,* July 27, 1877; Ira B. Cross, *A History of the Labor Movement in California,* Berkeley, 1935, pp. 89–90.

6. *Boston Globe,* July 24–25, 1877; *Labor Standard,* August 4, 1877; Bruce, *op. cit.,* p. 232.

7. Mackey, "Law and Order: 1877," *op. cit.,* pp. 196–97; *Labor Standard,* August 4, 11, 1877; *Philadelphia Record,* July 27, 1877; *Philadelphia North American,* July 24, 26, 27, 1877; *New York Times,* July 25, 29, 30, 1877.

8. *Philadelphia Record,* July 27, 28, 1877; *Labor Standard,* August 11, 1877; Mackey, "Law and Order," *op. cit.,* pp. 198–200.

9. *New York Sun,* July 24, 1877; *New York World,* July 24, 1877; *New York Times,* July 24, 1877; Bruce *op. cit.,* p. 277.

10. *New York World,* July 24, 1877.

11. *New York Times,* July 26, 1877; *New York World,* July 26, 1877.

12. The *New York Sun* headlined the meeting "The Dreaded Assemblage." For the telegrams to Mayor Ely, *see New York Times,* July 26, 1877.

13. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle,* July 23, 1877; *New York Sun,* July 23,1877.

14. For John Swinton's role in the Tompkins Square clash between police and the unemployed, January 13, 1874, *see* Marc Ross, "John Swinton, Journalist and Reformer, The Active Years, 1857–1887," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, New York University, 1969, pp. 83–90.

15. *New York Sun,* July 26, 1877; *New York Tribune,* July 26, 1877.

In a sermon the following Sunday, during which thirty police officers in civilian dress were in the congregation at Plymouth Church, Beecher conceded that he had received "swarms of letters" criticizing his sermon of the previous week. He argued in defense that he had been "grossly misrepresented through careless reporting," and then proceeded to disprove his own defense by repeating much of what he had said the previous Sunday. This time, he declared that "a dollar a day" was enough "to give a man bread." He called the idea that the government should aid the poor the viewpoint of "impractical German theorists" which would open the door to communism. Finally, he advised workers to "work more and grumble less." Where they could obtain work did not enter into his sermon. (*New York Sun,* July 30, 1877.)

16. *New York Sun,* July 26, 1877; *New York Tribune,* July 26, 1877.

17. *New York Times,* July 26, 1877.

18. *New York Sun,* July 26,1877; *New York Tribune,* July 26, 1877; *New York World,* July 26, 1877.

19. *New York World,* July 26, 1877; *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* July 30, 1877.

The address was signed by B. Kaufman, G. Winter, A. Walster, J. Schwab, E. Hall, and Leander Thompson on behalf of the Workingmen's Party of the United States. The address is not in the Hayes Papers.

20. *New York World,* July 26, 1877; *New York Sun,* July 26, 1877.

21. *New York Times,* July 26, 1877; *New York Tribune,* July 26, 1877; *New York Sun,* July 26, 1877; *New York World,* July 26, 1877.

22. *New York Herald,* July 27, 1877; *Labor Standard,* August 4, 1877.

Samuel Gompers, President of the Cigar Makers' Union, was also mentioned as a speaker, but his speech was not reported.

23. *Louisville Courier-Journal,* July 23, 1877.

24. *Ibid.,* July 25, 1877.

Robert V. Bruce states that Standiford "balked" at the request for a raise in wages, but the *Louisville Courier-Journal* reported that he responded affirmatively, a view which appears to have been accepted by the workers in Louisville. This is also the opinion of Bill I. Weaver, "Louisville's Labor Disturbance, July, 1877," *Filson Club Historical Quarterly,* vol. XLVIII, April 1974, pp. 179–80.

25. *Louisville Courier-Journal,* July 25, 1877.

26. Pinkerton, *op. cit.,* p. 381.

27. *Louisville Courier-Journal,* July 25, 1877.

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*

31. *Ibid.*

32. *Ibid.,* July 26, 27, 1877.

33. *Ibid.,* July 26, 1877; Alpheus T. Mason, *Louis D. Brandeis, A Free Man's Life,* New York, 1946, pp. 47–48.

34. *Louisville Courier-Journal,* July 26, 1877.

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.,* July 28, 29, 1877; *Louisville Commercial,* July 27, 28, 1877.

37. *Ibid.,* July 30, 1877.

38. A brief reference to the victory of the Workingmen's Party in the August election is the only mention of the party in Weaver's article on the strike in Louisville. (*Op. cit.,* p. 186.)

39. *Cincinnati Gazette,* July 23, 1877.

40. *Ibid.; Cincinnati Commercial,* July 23, 1877.

41. Peter H. Clark, principal of the Colored High School in Cincinnati, was probably the first Black American socialist. He was a Republican until 1877, when, disillusioned with the Republican Party's indifference to the

problems of Blacks in the South and concerned over the growing power of the industrial capitalists, he became a member of the English-speaking section of the Workingmen's Party. (*See* my discussion of Peter H. Clark in the forthcoming work, Philip S. Foner, *American Socialism and Black Americans: From the Age of Jackson to World War II.*)

42. *Cincinnati Commercial,* July 23, 1877. The speech is reprinted in Philip S. Foner, ed., *The Voice of Black America: Major Speeches of Blacks in the United States, 1797–1973,* New York, 1975, vol. I, pp. 481–87. Extracts from the speech can be found in Herbert G. Gutman, "Peter H. Clark: Pioneer Negro Socialist, 1877," *Journal of Negro Education,* Fall 1965, pp. 413–18.

43. *The Emancipator,* July 21, 28, 1877.

44. *Cincinnati Commercial,* July 24, 1877.

45. *Ibid.,* July 26, 1877.

46. *The Emancipator,* August 4, 1877.

47. *Cincinnati Enquirer,* July 24, 1877.

48. *Ibid.,* July 24, 25, 1877.

49. *Ibid.,* July 25, 1877.

50. *Ibid.,* July 26, 1877.

51. *Cincinnati Enquirer,* July 24, 25, 1877; Bruce, *op. cit.,* p. 253.

52. *Cincinnati Enquirer,* July 26, 1877; *Cincinnati Daily Gazette,* July 26, 1877.

53. *Cincinnati Enquirer,* July 27, August 1, 1877.

Chapter 8: The WPUS and the Great Strike, II: Chicago

1. Bessie Louise Pierce, *A History of Chicago: 1871–1883,* New York, 1957, vol. III, pp. 243–44; Hoyt, "The Labor Explosion of 1877," *op. cit.,* p. 182.

2. *Chicago Tribune,* July 20, 21, 1877; *Chicago Inter-Ocean,* July 20, 21, 1877; *Chicago Daily News,* July 20, 21, 1877.

3. *Chicago Times,* July 20, 1877.

4. *Ibid.,* July 23, 1877.

5. Bruce, *op. cit.,* p. 237.

6. *Chicago Tribune,* July 23, 1877; *Chicago Times,* July 23, 1877.

7. The statement appeared in a *Chicago Tribune* editorial of July 20, 1877. In the same editorial, the *Tribune* commented: "If the Company should reduce wages to a cent a day, [the strikers] have but one privilege in the premises. They have the right to step out."

8. *Chicago Tribune,* July 23, 1877; *Chicago Times,* July 23, 1877; *Chicago Inter-Ocean,* July 23, 1877.

9. *Chicago Tribune,* July 23, 1877.

The most recent discussion of the Great Strike in Chicago is Kenneth Kann, "The Big City Riot: Chicago, Illinois," unpublished paper delivered at 1976 Annual Meeting, American Historical Association, Washington, D.C., December 28, 1976. This paper is part of a full-length study by Mr. Kann of the working class and labor movement of Chicago from the end of the Civil War to 1890. Pages 68–100 of this study dealing with the Great Strike in Chicago was made available to me by Mr. Kann, and the unpublished manuscript is in the possession of the author.

10. *Chicago Tribune,* July 23, 1877; *Chicago Daily News,* July 23, 1877; Pierce, *op. cit.,* vol. III, pp. 247–48; Bruce, *op. cit.,* pp. 236–37.

11. *Chicago Tribune,* July 24, 1877.

12. *Ibid., Chicago Tribune,* July 24, 1877.

13. *Chicago Tribune,* July 24, 1877.

14. *Ibid.; Chicago Times,* July 24, 1877; *Chicago Daily News,* July 24, 1877; Kann, *op. cit.,* p. 73.

The full text of Parsons' speech was published in *Labor Standard,* August 11, 1877.

15. *Chicago Times,* July 24, 1877; *Chicago Tribune,* July 24, 1877.

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Chicago Tribune,* July 24, 1877.

18. *Chicago Inter-Ocean,* July 25, 1877.

19. *Chicago Times,* July 25, 1877; *Chicago Tribune,* July 25, 1877; *Chicago Daily News,* July 25, 1877.

20. *Chicago Daily News,* July 25, 1877; *Chicago Inter-Ocean,* July 25, 1877.

21. *Chicago Times,* July 25, 1877; *Chicago Tribune,* July 25, 1877; Kann, *op. cit.,* pp. 74–75.

22. Charles Flynn, *History of the Chicago Police,* Chicago, 1922, pp. 165–66; also quoted in Kann, *op. cit.,* p. 75.

23. *Chicago Tribune,* July 25, 1877; *Chicago Times,* July 25, 1877; *Chicago Inter-Ocean,* July 25, 1877.

24. *See,* for example, *Baltimore Sun,* July 25, 1877.

25. David J. Scharnau, "Thomas J. Morgan, Chicago Socialist," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Illinois, 1968, pp. 34–35; *Chicago Tribune,* July 25, 1877; Kann, *op. cit.,* pp. 76–77.

26. *Chicago Inter-Ocean,* July 25, 1877.

27. *Chicago Times,* July 25, 1877.

28. *Chicago Daily News,* July 24, 1877; Bruce, *op. cit.,* pp. 242–43.

29. Ross, "John Swinton," *op. cit.,* pp. 160–61.

30. *Chicago Times,* July 24, 1877.

31. For a discussion of the Haymarket Affair, *see* Henry David, *History of the Haymarket Affair,* New York, 1936, and Philip S. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States,* vol. II, New York, 1955, pp. 162–85.

32. Philip S. Foner, ed., *The Autobiographies of the Haymarket Martyrs,* New York, 1969, pp. 31–33; *Chicago Tribune,* July 25, 1877; Calmer, *Labor Agitator,* p. 28.

33. *Chicago Tribune,* July 25–26, 1877; *Chicago Times,* July 26, 1877.

34. *Chicago Tribune,* July 25, 1877.

35. *Chicago Tribune,* July 26, 1877; *Chicago Times,* July 26, 1877; *Chicago Inter-Ocean,* July 26, 1877.

36. *Chicago Times,* July 26, 1877; *Chicago Tribune,* July 26, 1877; Kann, *op. cit.,* p. 78.

37. *Chicago Times,* July 26, 1877; *Chicago Tribune,* July 26, 1877; Pierce, *op. cit.,* vol. III, p. 250.

38. *Chicago Tribune,* July 26, 1877; Bruce, *op. cit.,* p. 247.

39. *Chicago Times,* July 26, 1877; *Chicago Tribune,* July 26, 1877.

40. *Chicago Tribune,* July 26, 1877; Bruce, *op. cit.,* p. 247.

41. Albert Day, "To My Children," *Mss.,* Chicago Historical Society, 1924, pp. 36–40; also cited in Kann, *op. cit.,* p. 82.

42. *Chicago Tribune,* July 26, 1877; *Chicago Inter-Ocean,* July 27, 1877; Bruce, *op. cit.,* pp. 247–48.

43. *Chicago Tribune,* July 22, 23, 24, 1877; Kann, *op. cit.,* pp. 84–85.

44. The best contemporary description of the Battle of July 26 is in the *Chicago Times,* July 27, 1877, and the best description in a later historical account is in Kann, *op. cit.,* pp. 84–89. The present account is an amalgamation of details from the *Tribune* and Kann as well as from the *Chicago Times, Inter-Ocean,* and *Daily News* of July 27, 1877, and that in Hoyt, *op. cit.,* pp. 190–94, and Bruce, *op. cit.,* pp. 246–50.

45. *Chicago Tribune, Times, Inter-Ocean,* and *Daily News,* July 27, 1877; Pierce, *op. cit.,* vol. III, p. 253; Bruce, *op. cit.,* p. 250.

46. *Chicago Times, Tribune, Inter-Ocean,* and *Daily News,* July 27, 1877.

47. *Ibid.*

48. For a description of a strikingly similar action by American-born women in a ten-hour strike of 1845 in Pittsburgh, *see* Foner, *History of the Labor Movement,* vol. I, pp. 207–8.

49. *Chicago Inter-Ocean,* July 27, 1877 and reprinted in *New York Sun, New York Times,* and *Baltimore Sun,* July 28, 29, 1877. *See also Chicago Tribune* and *Times,* July 27, 1877.

50. *Chicago Times, Tribune, Inter-Ocean,* and *Daily News,* July 27, 1877.

51. *Ibid.*

52. *Chicago Daily News, Times,* and *Tribune,* July 27, 1877; Flynn, *op. cit.,* p. 167; Bruce, *op. cit.,* pp. 251–52; Kann, *op. cit.,* p. 90.

53. *Chicago Tribune,* July 28–29, 1877; *Inter-Ocean,* July 28–29, 1877; *Daily News,* July 28–29, 1877; *Times,* July 28–29, 1877.

54. *Chicago Inter-Ocean,* July 27, 1877.

55. *Chicago Tribune,* July 28, 1877.

56. *Chicago Times,* July 25, 26, 27, 1877; Hoyt, *op. cit.,* p. 195.

57. Pinkerton, *op. cit.,* pp. 265–66.

58. *Chicago Daily News,* July 27, 1877.

59. Bruce, *op. cit.,* p. 250.

Chapter 9: The WPUS and the Great Strike, III: The St. Louis general strike

1. "St. Louis Communism," *Chicago Tribune,* July 29, 1877.

2. *Missouri Republican,* July 25, 1877; *New York Sun,* July 26, 1877.

3. *Toledo Commercial,* July 24, 1877, reprinted in Bruce, *op. cit.,* p. 207.

4. *Ibid.,* p. 208; Martin, *op. cit.,* pp. 347–48.

5. *Toledo Blade,* July 26, 1877.

6. *Ibid.,* July 27, 28, 1877.

7. Burbank, *Reign of the Rabble, op. cit.,* pp. 55–56. Burbank acknowledges that the Philadelphia strike of 1835 for the ten-hour day is sometimes referred to as America's first general strike, but he observes that this "was hardly so in the modern sense" (p. 55). In that sense, he is correct.

8. *Ibid.,* p. 19; Bruce, *op. cit.,* pp. 253–54; Hoyt, *op. cit.,* pp. 198–99.

9. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* July 22, 1877.

10. *Missouri Republican,* July 22, 1877.

11. Gen. J.H. Wilson to Carl Schurz, marked "Personal," July 22, 1877, Carl Schurz Papers, Library of Congress, Manuscripts Division.

12. Gen. J.H. Wilson to Carl Schurz, telegram, July 12, 1877, *ibid.*

13. Burbank is in error when he writes that in all the reports of the meeting there was "no mention of the established brotherhoods of labor." (p. 16.) The account in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* mentions the role of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. (July 23, 1877.)

14. St. *Louis Globe-Democrat,* July 23, 1877.

15. *Ibid.,* July 22, 1877.

16. The information on Lofgreen's (Gronlund's) record at the University of Copenhagen may be found in *Studenterne Veal Kobehnavens 1829–1880,* ed. H. Frus-Peterson, Aarkus, 1950, vol. I, copy in Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen.

In 1884, under his real name of Laurence Gronlund, he published *The Cooperative Commonwealth,* in which he advocated an evolutionary type of socialism. The book influenced Edward Bellamy in writing *Looking Backward.*

The only study of Lofgreen (Gronlund) in English is Solomon Gemorah, "Laurence Gronlund's Ideas and Influence, 1877–1899," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, New York, 1966. However, it adds nothing to what is already known about Lofgreen's role in the 1877 strike, basing its discussion of the events in St. Louis only on Bruce. The same is true of Gemorah's article, "Laurence Gronlund—Utopian or Reformer?" (*Science & Society,* vol. XXXIII, 1969, pp. 446–58.)

17. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* July 23, 1877.

18. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* July 23, 1877; *St. Louis Times,* July 23, 1877; *Missouri Republican,* July 23, 1877.

19. *Ibid.*

20. Burbank, *op. cit.,* p. 16.

21. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* July 26, 1877; *Missouri Republican,* July 25, 1877; *St. Louis Times,* July 26, 1877.

22. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* July 23, 1877.

23. *Ibid.;* Hoyt, *op. cit.,* pp. 199–200.

24. Gen. James H. Wilson to Carl Schurz, July 22, 1877, telegram, Carl Schurz Papers, Library of Congress, Manuscripts Division; Burbank, *op. cit.,* pp. 21–22.

25. *St. Louis Times,* July 24, 1877; *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* July 24, 1877.

26. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* July 24, 1877; *St. Louis Times,* July 24, 1877; *Missouri Republican,* July 24, 1877.

27. In the Minutes of the General Council of the First International, Cope is mentioned on August 15, 1865, as having been elected to the General Council, in February, 1866, as one of the signers of the General Council's "Appeal from the British Members of the Central Council to their Fellow Working Men of the United Kingdom," and also in February 1866, as a member of the bootmakers. Cope served on the General Council from

1865–1867. *See The General Council of the First International 1864–1866, Minutes,* Moscow, n.d., pp. 123, 315, 322.

28. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* July 24, 1877; *St. Louis Times,* July 24, 1877; *Missouri Republican,* July 24, 1877.

29. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* July 25, 1877.

30. Burbank, *op. cit.,* p. 35.

31. *Missouri Republican,* July 24, 1877; Burbank, *op. cit.,* p. 33.

32. *Missouri Republican,* July 25, 1877.

33. James H. Wilson to Carl Schurz, July 24, 1877, two telegrams, Carl Schurz Papers, Library of Congress, Manuscripts Division.

34. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* July 25, 1877; Burbank, *op. cit.,* p. 43.

35. *St. Louis Times,* July 25, 1877.

36. *Ibid.; St. Louis Daily Journal,* July 25, 1877; *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* July 25, 1877.

37. Burbank, *op. cit.,* p. 43.

38. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* July 25, 1877; *St. Louis Times,* July 25, 1877; Hoyt, *op. cit.,* pp. 202–3.

J.J. McBride's translation of the word *canaille* as "dog" is incorrect; *canaille* is derived from *chien,* but the word has lost its original literal meaning and is now translated as "rabble."

39. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* July 25, 1877.

40. Burbank, *op. cit.,* pp. 59, 61.

41. *Missouri Republican,* July 26, 1877.

42. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* July 26, 1877. A copy of the original leaflet of the Proclamation in English and German is in the files of the International Workingmen's Association, State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin. It is reproduced as a frontispiece in Burbank's book, *Reign of the Rabble.*

43. Hillquit, *op. cit.,* p. 202.

44. *Missouri Republican,* July 26, 1877; *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* July 26, 1877.

45. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* July 26, 1877.

46. *Ibid.; Missouri Republican,* July 26, 1877; *St. Louis Times,* July 26, 1877; *Scranton Republican,* July 26, 1877.

47. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* July 26, 1877; *Missouri Republican,* July 26, 1877; *St. Louis Daily Market Reporter,* July 26, 1877; Burbank, *op. cit.,* pp. 73–75.

48. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* July 26, 1877; *Missouri Republican,* July 26, 1877.

49. Burbank, *op. cit.*, pp. 69–70, 78.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 112; Amy Schechter, "Labor Struggles in 1877," *Daily Worker,* July 17, 1926.

51. Burbank, *op. cit.*, pp. 177–78.

52. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* July 26, 1877.

53. *Ibid.*, July 27, 1877.

54. *New York Sun,* reprinted in Burbank, *op.cit.*, p. 73.

55. *Missouri Republican,* July 26, 1877; *St. Louis Times,* July 26, 1877.

56. *St. Louis Times,* July 26, 27, 28, 29, 1877; *Missouri Republican,* July 27, 28, 29, 1877; *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* July 25, 26, 27, 1877; Russell M. Nolen, "The Labor Movement in St. Louis from 1860 to 1890," *Missouri Historical Review,* vol. XXIV, January, 1940, pp. 170–72.

57. *St. Louis Times,* August 4, 1877.

58. Burbank, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

59. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* July 28, 1877.

60. *Ibid.*, July 25, 1877; *Scranton Republican,* July 25, 1877.

61. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* July 18, 1877; *New York Times,* July 18, 1877; Hoyt, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

62. *St. Louis Times,* July 22, 1877; *Missouri Republican,* July 27, 1877.

63. James H. Wilson to Carl Schurz, July 27, 1877, Carl Schurz Papers, Library of Congress, Manuscripts Division.

64. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* July 28, 1877.

65. *Missouri Republican,* July 28, 1877.

66. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* July 28, 1877.

67. *Ibid.; Missouri Republican,* July 28, 1877.

68. *St. Louis Times,* August 4, 1877.

69. *Missouri Republican,* July 28, 1877.

70. *Ibid.; St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* July 28, 1877.

71. *Missouri Republican,* July 28, 1877.

72. *Ibid.; St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* July 28, 1877.

73. *St. Louis Times,* July 30, 31, 1877.

The executive committee had tried to hold three meetings, but two failed completely, and the police routed a third small one.

74. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* July 29, 30, 31, 1877; *St. Louis Times,* July 29, 30, 31, 1877; *Missouri Republican,* July 29, 30, 31, 1877.

75. Report by Vice-Consul Bagshare on the Late Industrial Conflicts at St. Louis, *Reports Respecting the Late Industrial Conflicts in the United States,* London, 1877, p. 47.

76. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* July 28, 29, 1877.

77. *St. Louis Times,* July 29, 1877.

78. *Missouri Republican,* July 28, 1877.

Chapter 10: The end of the Great Strike

1. *New York World,* July 24, 1877.

2. *Cleveland Leader,* July 23, 1877.

3. "The Strike Reaches Canada," *Pottsville Weekly Miners' Journal,* July 27, 1877.

The dispatch, dated July 24, was from St. Thomas, Ontario, and read in part: "The employees in the Canada Southern workshops quit work at noon to-day, and a large number of engineers, firemen and brakemen joined the strikers. . . . All freight trains on the road have stopped running. . . . The striking firemen and brakemen visited the workshops and advised the employees to quit work. . . . Word was also sent along the line to stop the trains where they were."

4. *Biennial Report of the Governor to the Legislature of Illinois,* Springfield, Illinois, 1879, pp. 13–15.

5. *New York Sun,* July 24, 1877.

6. William Roscoe Thayer, *The Life and Letters of John Hay,* Boston, 1908, vol. I, p. 179.

Hay's novel, *The Breadwinners,* published anonymously in 1883, was inspired by the railroad strike of 1877 and was bitterly antilabor.

7. *New York Times,* July 26, 1877.

8. *Workingman's Advocate,* July 28, 1877.

9. *Cleveland Leader,* July 24, 1877; Victor R. Greene, *The Slavic Community on Strike: Immigrant Labor in Pennsylvania Anthracite,* Notre Dame, Indiana, 1968, pp. 72–73.

The news that several of the railroad lines (including the Union Pacific) had rescinded the wage cut was hailed by the *Glasgow Sentinel,* a trade union paper in Scotland, as signalling that the violent upheaval would soon be over. "This event we earnestly hope will have its lessons to the workmen of the [United] States generally, which are that they will combine properly, and only ask to change things by legal and constitutional means." (James D. Young, "Scottish Labor and the American Railway Strike of 1877," *Labor History,* vol. XII, Fall, 1971, p. 604.)

The report of a delegation of mechanics of Paris, part of a larger delegation which visited the United States during the Centennial of 1876, referred to the great railroad strike of 1877 as strengthening their conviction that strikes were not effective as a weapon of the working class. Al-

though the report conceded that the use of the troops to crush the strike was evidence of the brutality of the capitalist class and the government it controlled, the resort to a strike by the railroad workers was a gesture of futility. (*Rapport de Délégués des Ouvriers Mécaniciens de Paris à l'Exposition Universelle de Philadelphia,* Paris, 1877, pp. 186–87; Philip S. Foner, "The French Trade Union Delegation to the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition, 1876," *Science & Society,* vol. XL, Fall 1976, p. 284*n.*)

10. *Nation,* vol. XXV, July 26, 1877, p. 50.

11. *Railroad Gazette,* vol. IX, July 27, 1877, p. 50.

12. Lucy Stone, "The Strikers and the Mob," *Woman's Journal,* July 28, 1877, p. 236.

It is ironical that two years later, the historian Francis Parkman used the Great Strike of 1877 as an argument to justify opposition to woman suffrage. Writing in the *North American Review* on "The Woman Question," Parkman argued: "To give women the suffrage is to expose the most excitable part of the human race to the influence of political passions with no means of defense against possible consequences. . . . There are those who think that the suffrage would act as a safety-valve to political passions; but it has not so acted in the case of men." He clinched his argument as follows: "The bloody riots of 1877 were the work of men in full enjoyment of suffrage. It is to the dread of lead and steel that the friends of order must look in the last resort; and, when this does not exist, political frenzy will have its way." (*North American Review,* vol. CCLXXV, October 1879, p. 319.)

13. *Independent,* vol. XXIX, August 2, 1877, p. 16.

14. *Martinsburg Statesman,* July 31, 1877.

The *Statesman* received many letters from workers congratulating it for its unwavering support of the strikers, and special resolutions were adopted at union meetings asserting that the paper deserved the "support and confidence of every laboring man in West Virginia," and urging them to stand by "that journal which in their own dark hours had stood by them." The *Statesman* gratefully received these tributes, but added: "We want it remembered that the *Statesman* has always stood for the workingmen of the country. It has never cloaked or disguised its sentiments." (August 7, 21, 28, 1877.)

15. *Philadelphia North American,* July 25, 1877; Bruce, *op. cit.,* p. 196; Mackey, *op. cit.,* p. 194; *Journal of the Common Council of the City of Philadelphia for the Year 1877,* Philadelphia, 1877, vol. II, pp. 3, 44, 65–66, 89, and Appendix II, 2, 28.

16. Cooper, "The Army and Civil Disorder," *op. cit.*, pp. 104, 117, 131.

17. *Columbus Dispatch,* July 30, 1877; *Daily Ohio State Journal,* July 30, 1877.

18. Minutes Cabinet Meeting, July 23, 24, 25, 1877, Hayes Papers.

19. Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

20. Minutes Cabinet Meeting, July 25, 1877, Hayes Papers.

21. Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

22. M.C. Church to Carl Schurz, July 26, 1877, telegram, Carl Schurz Papers, Library of Congress, Manuscripts Division.

23. *Cleveland Leader,* July 23, 1877.

24. *See above* p. 99.

25. Minutes Cabinet Meeting, July 26, 1877, Hayes Papers.

26. *Ibid.*

27. Gresham, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 230–31.

28. Hoyt, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

29. *Indianapolis Sentinel,* August 2, 1877.

30. Gerald G. Eggert, *Railroad Labor Disputes: The Beginning of Federal Strike Policy,* Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1969, pp. 39–42; Alan Drew Adler, "Federal Courts and Railroad Receivership in the Late Nineteenth Century," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1971, pp. 112–16; Bruce, *op. cit.*, pp. 289, 308–09.

31. Eggert, *op. cit.*, pp. 43–44.

32. *Galveston Daily News,* July 28, 1877.

Strikes had broken out on the railroads all over Texas, but as yet Galveston had not been affected by the Great Strike.

33. *Galveston Daily News,* July 28, 29, 30, 31, 1877.

34. *Ibid.*, July 31, 1877.

35. *Ibid.*, August 1, 1877.

For an uncritical study of Cuney's rise to leadership of the Negro longshoremen, *see* Maud Cuney Hare, *Norris Wright Cuney,* New York, 1913.

36. *Galveston Daily News,* July 30, 31, August 1, 1877.

37. *Ibid.*, August 1, 1877.

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.*, August 1, 1877.

40. *Ibid.*, August 1, 2, 1877.

41. The "Veiled Prophet Parade and Ball," the annual upper class affair in St. Louis, dates from the victory celebration after the crushing of the general strike.

42. Thomas Scott to President R.B. Hayes, July 31, 1877, Hayes Papers.

43. Telegram, Hayes Papers.

In another telegram the same day to the president and the secretary of war, General Meyer wired: "Past nine oclock on Sunday night all along lines and all is well." (Hayes Papers.)

44. *Scranton Republican,* October 5, 1877.

45. Herbert Gutman, "Social and Economic Structure and Depression: American Labor in 1873 and 1874," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1959.

46. Charles Richard Williams, *The Diary and Letters of Rutherford Birchard Hayes,* Columbus, 1924, vol. V, p. 440.

Chapter 11: Epilogue

1. *Pittsburgh Post,* August 2, 3, 4, 5, 1877; *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* August 5, 6, 7, 1877; *Columbus Dispatch,* August 5, 1877. The Ohio items appeared originally in the *Ohio State Journal,* July 24, 1877.

2. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* August 6, 1877. The letter to Superintendent Shoemaker was originally published in the *St. Louis Times,* July 24, 1877.

3. *Labor Standard,* August 4, 11, 1877.

4. *National Labor Tribune,* August 4, 11, 18, 25, 1877; *Labor Standard,* August 4, 11, 18, 1877.

5. *Pottsville Weekly Miners' Journal,* August 3, 10, 1877; *Philadelphia North American,* August 9, 1877; *Harrisburg Independent,* August 30, 1877.

6. *New York Evening Post,* July 23, 1877. The text of the resolutions adopted by the Columbia Typographical Union was published in the *Martinsburg Statesman,* August 7, 1877.

7. *Independent,* August 2, 1877.

8. *New York Sun,* August 3, 1877; reprinted in *National Labor Tribune,* September 22, 1877.

9. Ronald L. Filippeli, "The Railroad Strike of 1877 in Reading," *Historical Review of Berks County,* vol. XXXVII, Spring 1972, p. 71.

10. Edwin W. Sigmund, "Railroad Strikers in Court: Unreported Contempt Cases in Illinois in 1877," *Illinois State Historical Journal,* vol. XLI, Summer 1956, pp. 190–209; Brown, *op. cit.,* p. 72; Burbank, *op. cit.,* pp. 176–77; *Chicago Tribune,* August 11, 1877; *Pittsburgh Post,* August 10–12, 1877; *Reading Daily Eagle,* August 13, 1877; *Harrisburg Independent,* August 5, 1877; *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* August 1, 2, 1877.

11. Burbank, *op. cit.,* p. 180.

12. *St. Louis Times,* August 4, 1877.

13. *National Labor Tribune,* August 18, 1877.

14. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* August 17, 18, 1877; *St. Louis Times,* August 17, 18, 1877; *Missouri Republican,* August 18, 19, 1877; Burbank, *op. cit.,* pp. 186–87.

Burbank points out that several historians, myself included, have incorrectly asserted that the members of the executive committee were sentenced to five years in the penitentiary and fined $200 each (p. 187). The reference in my case is to *History of the Labor Movement,* vol. I, p. 473.

15. *Chicago Tribune,* July 31, 1877.

16. George Frederick Howe, ed., "President Hayes' Notes of Four Cabinet Meetings," *American Historical Review,* vol. XXXVII, January 1932, p. 189.

17. *Ibid.*

18. Williams, *op. cit.,* vol. V, p. 440.

19. *Missouri Republican,* July 31, 1877. For concern about "financial people abroad," *see* letters to Carl Schurz, July 26, 1877, Carl Schurz Papers, Library of Congress, Manuscripts Division.

20. "Trade Union Fallacies," *Galveston Daily News,* August 1, 1877.

21. *Philadelphia Ledger,* August 3, 1877.

22. *Washington National Republican,* August 4, 1877.

23. *Pittsburgh Post,* August 5, 1877.

24. Robert B. Porter, "The Truth About the Strike," *Galaxy,* vol. XXIV, December 1877, pp. 726–27. *See also* F.H. Heywood, "The Great Strike," *Radical Review,* vol. I, November 1877, p. 571.

25. W.M. Grosvener, "The Communist and the Railway," *International Review,* vol. IV, September 1877, pp. 585–86; A Red-Hot Striker of Scranton, Pa., "Do the Railway Kings Look For An Empire, Do They?" *Radical Review,* vol. I, November 1877, p. 527.

The article was reprinted as a pamphlet by Benjamin R. Tucker in 1880. Tucker, editor of the *Radical Review,* was a well-known philosophical anarchist.

26. *National Labor Tribune,* September 22, 1877. Emphasis added.

27. *Harper's Weekly,* vol. XXI, August 11, 1877, p. 617; Bruce, *op. cit.,* pp. 307–08; Louis Adamic, *Dynamite: The Story of Class Violence in America,* New York, 1936, p. 36.

28. Heywood, *op. cit.,* p. 575.

29. This figure is based on an estimate by William Riker, historian of the National Guard, who devotes one of the five chapters in his book, *Soldiers of the States: The Role of the National Guard in American Democracy* (Washington, D.C., 1957), to the militia 1877–1903. For the estimate

see p. 47. However, Robert Reinders points out that since the strike spread over more than eleven states, more members of the militia were involved than indicated by Riker. ("Militia and Public Order in Nineteenth-Century America," *Journal of American Studies,* vol. XI, April 1977, p. 93.)

30. *New York Tribune,* August 3, 1877; Matthew Josephson, *The Politicos, 1865–1896,* New York, 1938, p. 255; Nation, vol. XXV, August 9, 1877, pp. 85–86; *The Commune in 1880, Downfall of the Republic,* New York, 1877, pp. 9–10.

31. *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine,* vol. I, August 1877, p. 276; *National Labor Tribune,* September 22, 1877; *Philadelphia Commonwealth,* reprinted in *Martinsburg Statesman,* August 28, 1877; *Pittsburgh Post,* July 30, 1877; New York Sun, August 12, 1877; *New York Tribune,* September 22, 1877; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* vol. XXV, July 28, 1877, pp. 73–74; *Cincinnati Enquirer,* August 28, 1877; Dixon Wecter, editor, *Mark Twain to Mrs. Fairbanks,* San Marino, Calif., p. 208.

32. Pierce, *op. cit.,* vol. III, pp. 252–54; Kann, *op. cit.,* pp. 97–98; Jack D. Foner, *The United States Soldier Between Two Wars,* New York, 1970, pp. 68–85.

33. "After the Battle," *Railroad Gazette,* August 12, 1877.

34. *Chicago Tribune,* August 4, 1877, September 12, 1878.

35. Thomas A. Scott, "The Recent Strikes," *North American Review,* vol. CCLVI, July-August 1877, p. 357.

36. Bruce, *op. cit.,* p. 303.

37. Thomas C. Cochran, *Railroad Leaders: 1845–1890,* Cambridge, Mass., 1953, p. 176.

38. Bruce, *op. cit.,* p. 304.

39. Cochran, *op. cit.,* pp. 176–77; Hoyt, *op. cit.,* pp. 230–31.

40. Edward McPherson, *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1877,* Washington, D.C., 1878, pp. 157–58; Hoyt, *op. cit.,* p. 231.

41. *Nation,* vol. XXV, August 16,1877, p. 98; *Harper's Weekly,* vol. XXI, September 1877, pp. 678–79.

42. Gresham, *op. cit.,* vol. I, p. 408; Thompson to William Dennison, May 29, 1880, quoted and cited in Salvatore, unpublished manuscript on the life of Eugene V. Debs, p. 234.

43. Hoyt, *op. cit.,* p. 232.

44. *Chicago Tribune,* July 30, 1877.

45. Lucy Parsons, ed., *Life of Albert Parsons,* Chicago, 1889, p. xvii.

46. Scharnau, *op. cit.,* pp. 43–44; Kann, *op. cit.,* p. 101.

47. *Chicago Tribune,* July 25, 1877; *Labor Standard,* August 4, 1877.

48. Hillquit, *op. cit.*, pp. 200–201.

49. *Labor Standard,* August 4, 1877; *New York Times,* July 29, 1877.

50. *Labor Standard,* August 11, 18, 1877.

51. *Ibid.,* August 18, 1877.

52. *Arbeiterstimme,* August 12, 19, 26, 1877.

53. *Ibid.,* August 19, 26, 1877.

54. *Louisville Courier-Journal,* August 2, 5, 6, 1877; *New York Times,* August 12, 1877.

55. *Louisville Courier-Journal,* August 3, 5, 6, 7, 1877.

56. *Ibid.,* August 6, 7, 1877.

57. *Ibid.,* August 7, 10, 1877.

58. *Ibid.,* August 8, 1877.

59. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* August 7, 1877.

60. Burbank, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

61. *Martinsburg Independent,* reprinted in Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 317; *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* August 13, 1877.

62. *Emancipator,* August 18, 1877.

63. *Ibid.,* August 4, 1877.

64. *Labor Standard,* August 12, 19, 1877.

65. *Ibid.,* October 7, 1877; *Emancipator,* August 18, 1877.

66. *Emancipator,* August 4, 11, 18, 1877.

67. Hillquit, *op. cit.*, p. 203; Edward T. James, "American Labor and Political Action," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1954, pp. 128–30.

68. Burbank, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

69. *Scranton Republican,* July 30, August 8, 1877.

For the origins of the Greenback Party and its history before the election of 1877, *see* Foner, *History of the Labor Movement,* vol. I, pp. 475–79.

70. *New York Tribune,* September 16, 1877.

71. *Ibid.,* August 15, 28, 1877.

72. *Ibid.,* August 13–15, 1877.

The Civil War National Banking Act, by taxing currency issued by state banks, drove the note-issuing function of these banks out of existence, thus limiting currency in circulation. The Resumption Act of 1875 provided that, beginning on January 1, 1879, greenbacks would be redeemed in gold, thereby reducing the total amount in circulation.

73. *New York Times,* October 28, 1877.

74. *Ibid.*

75. *New York Tribune,* November 8–15, 1877; *New York Times,* November 8–15, 1877; *Rochester Union & Advertiser,* November 7, 1877; *The Path I Trod: The Autobiography of Terence V. Powderly,* ed. by Harry J. Carman, Henry David, and Paul N. Guthrie, New York, 1940, p. 204.

76. Hillquit, *op. cit.,* p. 226.

77. *Vorbote,* January 5, 1878; *New York Times,* December 31, 1877.

The official name was the Sozialistiche Arbeiter-Partei, or, in its English version, the Socialistic Labor Party, a title which fifteen years later was revised to Socialist Labor Party.

78. *National Labor Tribune,* September 22, 1877.

79. *See* letter of P.M. Arthur in *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* August 4, 1877.

80. *Ibid.,* August 12, 1877; Burbank, *op. cit.,* p. 177.

81. Bernard Mandel, "The 'Great Uprising' of 1877," *Cigar Makers' Official Journal,* September 1967, pp. 3–5; Samuel Gompers, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor,* vol. I, New York, 1925, pp. 142–54.

82. *Pittsburgh Telegraph,* August 12, 1877.

83. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement,* vol. I, pp. 438, 504–508.

84. *Ibid.,* pp. 500–503.

85. *Ibid.,* pp. 512–14; Gompers, *op. cit.,* vol. I, pp. 127, 210.

86. F.R. Plunkett to the Earl of Derby, Washington, July 31, 1877, *Reports of the Late Industrial Conflicts in the United States,* London, 1877, pp. 6–7.

87. *Labor Standard,* August 4, 1877.

88. Lucy Parsons, *op. cit.,* p. xvii; Kann, *op. cit.,* pp. 98–100.

89. Karl Marx to Friedrich Engels, July 24,1877, Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke,* Berlin, Band 34, p. 59.

90. Reprinted in *Martinsburg Statesman,* September 4, 1877.